

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSC-05

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INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

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MADRID HOLD FOR LOWENSTEIN

GENEVA FOR DEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO,CY, GR, TU, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: NATOMIN: DISCUSSION ON MIDDLE EAST, MORNING SESSION
DECEMBER 13

1. SYG LUNS OPENED DISCUSSION ON THE SITUATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, NOTING THIS SUBJECT HAD BEEN PARTIALLY COVERED THE PREVIOUS DAY. REFERRING TO HIS WATCHING BRIEF ON GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, HE RENEWED HIS APPEAL TO THESE TWO ALLIES TO REACH A POSITIVE SOLUTION TO THEIR DIFFERENCES.

2. ITALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER RUMOR EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THE SESSION HAD AN AGENDA ITEM DEVOTED TO THE MEDITERRANEAN BECAUSE STABILITY IN THAT AREA WAS ESSENTIAL TO THE SECURITY OF ALL THE ALLIES.

THE SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REQUIRES A PERMANENT COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF THE ALLIES TO MAINTAIN A MILITARY BALANCE IN THAT AREA. TURNING TO GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES, RUMOR SAID THAT THE CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BE RESOLVED AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

3. RUMOR EXPRESSED ITALY'S THANKS FOR THE EXTREMELY CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF SECRETARY KISSINGER IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND CONFIRMED ITALY'S CONVICTION THAT THE GRADUAL APPROACH IS THE ONE ABLE TO REACH POSITIVE RESULTS. HE NOTED THE SPECIAL POSITION OF ITALY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND ITS SPECIAL CONCERN REGARDING TENSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE STATED THE NEED TO REACH A TERRITORIAL SOLUTION BASED ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, WITH RECOGNITION OF FRONTIERS, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF PALESTINIANS BECOMING MASTERS OF THEIR OWN DESTINY. ITALY WILL SEEK TO CONTRIBUTE TO DETENTE IN THIS SECTOR AS IN ALL OTHERS.

4. GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS STATED THAT UNTIL RECENTLY, THE THREAT CAME ONLY FROM THE NORTH, AND THE SOUTH WOULD OPEN FOR SUPPLY LINES AND FORCE DEPLOYMENT. SINCE
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THE INCREASE IN THE SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN THIS SITUATION HAS CHANGED, AND THERE IS NOW A THREAT FROM THE SOUTH. THIS CHANGES THE STRATEGIC SITUATION IN THE AREA. ANY UPHEAVAL IN THIS WESTERN LAKE HAS REPERCUSSIONS FOR GREECE.

5. BITSIOS SAID THAT IS WHY GREECE FOLLOWS WITH CONCERN THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. GREECE FAVORS A SOLUTION ALONG THE LINES OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 5. GREECE HAS ALWAYS

APPRECIATED U.S. EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER, TAKING RESOLUTIONS AS A BASIS. THERE WILL BE NO PEACE WITHOUT RECOGNITION OF THE REALITY OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM. ALL STATES IN THE AREA MUST HAVE NEGOTIATED AND CERTAIN FRONTIERS, WHICH FOR ISRAEL SHOULD BE THOSE EXISTING BEFORE THE 1967 WAR. BITSIOS NOTED NEW SIGNS OF TENSION IN THE AREA, AND APPEALED TO MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE, WHO CAN DO SO, TO MAKE AN EFFORT FOR PEACE.

6. BITSIOS SAID HE APPROACHED THE SUBJECT OF CYPRUS WITH HESITATION BECAUSE HE DID NOT WANT TO BREAK THE FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE OF THE DEBATE. HE SAID THAT UNDER THE EUPHEMISM OF A PEACEFUL OPERATION, A STATUS QUO WAS CREATED WHERE IN THW WORDS OF A POET "EVERYTHING IS IN SORROW." THIS STATUS QUO CANNOT LAST FOREVER. AFTER THE RECENT TALKS BETWEEN KARAMANLIS AND MARARIOS IN ATHENS, GREEK CYPRIOTS SAID THEY WERE READY TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE OTHER SIDE TO REACH A SOLUTION TO THIS TRAGEDY. THEY MADE THE DECISION TO ENTRUST THE NEGOTIATION TO CLERIDES AND DENKTASH. BITSIOS HOPED THEY WOULD BE ABLE WITH GOOD WILL TO REACH CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS.

7. LUNS SAID HE SHARED BITSIOS' HOPE FOR A SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES WHICH WOULD PUT AN END TO THE PRESENT SITUATION.

8. TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER ESENBEL NOTED THAT DURING THE SECOND HALF OF NOVEMBER THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAD AGAIN DETERIORATED BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBLE EXPIRATION OF THE MANDATE FOR THE UN FORCE. TENSION WAS ALSO INCREASED BY THE MILITARY ALERT IN THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED. THE SITUATION IS NOW BETTER THANKS TO SYRIAN AGREEMENT TO EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE, BUT HE DOUBTED THAT SYRIA WOULD AGREE TO ANOTHER EXTENSION UNLESS THERE WERE PROGRESS TOWARD A JUST SETTLEMENT. THEREFORE, AS AHERTON POINTED OUT TO THE NAC ON NOVEMBER 20,
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THE OPPORTUNITY FOLLOWING DISENGAGEMENT SHOULD NOT BE MISSED.

9. ESENBEL SAID TURKEY SAW TWO BASIC ELEMENTS IN A SOLUTION. FIRST, CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION CANNOT BE CONDONED IN THE NAME OF SECURE FRONTIERS. OCCUPATION CANNOT SUBSTITUTE FOR SECURITY BASED ON MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. SECOND, THE PALESTINIANS HAVE THE RIGHT TO THEIR OWN DESTINY, AND THE SETTING UP OF A NATIONAL AUTHORITY, IF THAT IS THEIR WISH, SHOULD BE RESPECTED.

10. ESENBEL NOTED THAT THIS DISPUTE FOR YEARS HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT TOOL OF THE SOVIET UNION. HE SAID HE DID NOT WISH TO ELABORATE ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF ADDITIONAL WESTERN DISPLACEMENT IN THE AREA. TO THE EXTENT THE ARABS LOSE HOPE, THEY WILL LEAN MORE ON MOSCOW. THE WEST NEEDS A

REALISTIC APPROACH WHICH TREATS THE PROBLEM IN ITS HISTORIC
TREND. TURKEY SUPPORTS THE EFFORTS OF SECRETARY KISSINGER IN
THE MIDDLE EAST, AND WILL FULFILL THE SHARE INCUMBENT ON TURKEY
REGARDING A JUST SOLUTION.

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11. ESENBEL SAID, RE SYG'S WATCHING BRIEF, ON GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS, THAT HE IS GLAD THAT BITSIOS IS HEAD OF THE
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GREEK DELEGATION, AND THAT IT IS A GOOD OMEN THAT HE IS FOREIGN MINISTER OF GREECE. ESENBEL SAID EVERYONE KNOWS WHAT HAPPENED IN CYPRUS LAST SUMMER, BUT HE HOPED EVERYONE REMEMBERED WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN CYPRUS SINCE 1963. TURKISH CYPRIOTS COULD NOT ENJOY THEIR RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. IF TURKEY HAD TO TAKE STEPS, IT DID SO RELUCTANTLY. TURKEY HAD TO FULFILL ITS TREATY OBLIGATIONS. TURKEY SEEKS A SETTLEMENT SATISFACTORY TO ALL INTERESTED PARTIES, AND HOPES PROGRESS CAN BE MADE. ESENBEL THEN REPEATED HIS REMARKS ABOUT BITSIOS.

12. LUNS SAID HE WANTED TO COMMENT FAVORABLY ON THE RESTRAINT SHOWN BY THE GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS IN THEIR REMARKS.

13. BITSIOS SAID HE WANTED TO THANK ESENBEL FOR HIS KIND WORDS. HE WISHED TO RECALL THAT HE AND ESENBEL HAD WORKED TOGETHER FOR MANY YEARS TO PACIFY THE ISLAND, AND HE DID NOT SEE WHY THEY COULD NOT WORK TOGETHER TO THAT END ONCE AGAIN.

14. CANADIAN SECRETARY FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MACEACHEN NOTED THAT CYPRUS WAS NOT A SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM, AND HE DID NOT WANT TO PROVOKE A DEBATE WHICH WOULD DAMAGE THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE MEETING. TWO ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED CANADA. FIRST, CANADA PARTICIPATES IN THE UN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE ON CYPRUS. HOWEVER, A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IS NO NEARER THAN IN 1964, WHEN THE FIRST CANADIAN CONTINGENT ARRIVED. A PEACEKEEPING FORCE SHOULD BE A CATALYST FOR PEACE, AND NOT A SUBSTITUTE. THE CANADIAN PUBLIC WILL SUPPORT CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE PEACEKEEPING FORCE AS LONG AS THIS SEEMS PRODUCTIVE, BUT THIS SUPPORT IS NOW HARDER TO MAINTAIN. SECOND, CYPRUS CONCERNS THE RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. ALL THOSE WITH A POTENTIAL TO SEEK SOLUTIONS SHOULD DO SO. ALLIANCE MEMBERS HAVE THE CAPACITY AND OBLIGATION TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION. MACEACHEN ADDED THAT IN RECENT YEARS CANADA HAS SPENT CONSIDERABLE SUMS, AND SOME CANADIAN LIVES FOR A DURABLE PEACE, AND IS PREPARED TO MAKE A FURTHER CONTRIBUTION IF ASKED. HE SAID HE WANTED TO APPEAL AROUND THE TABLE THAT THE ALLIES HELP FIND A DURABLE SOLUTION.

15. UK FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN SAID IT WAS FORTUNATE THAT
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BITSIOS AND ESENBEL WERE SERVING AS FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. HE THOUGHT THERE WAS MORE POSSIBILITY FOR PROGRESS THAN IN SOME TIME. RE THE CANADIAN REMARKS, HE SAID THAT YOUNG CANADIANS HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES IN CYPRUS, AND CANADA HAS MADE A GREAT EFFORT THERE. THE UK HAS ALSO LOST LIVES IN CYPRUS. HE UK IN ITS DEFENSE REVIEW HAS DECIDED TO REMAIN IN ITS SOVEREIGN BASE AREAS, NOT FOR NARROW BRITISH REASONS, BUT FOR WESTERN REASONS. THE UK IS WILLING TO TAKE ON THAT BURDEN, BUT NO ONE SHOULD BE UNDER ANY MISAPPREHENSIONS AS TO THE REASON WHY THE UK REMAINS THERE: I.E., THE NATO ALLIANCE. THE UK BELIEVES THE FLANKS ARE AS IMPORTANT IN SOME WAYS AS THE CENTRAL AREA. THE UK IS CONCENTRATING ON THE CENTRAL AREA BUT RECOGNIZES THE SPECIAL PLACE OF THE FLANKS. CALLAGHAN CONCLUDED THAT ALL WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH CYPRUS ARE CONCERNED WITH THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS THERE, AND THE UK WILL DO ITS BEST TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS. KISSINGER

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